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12 The research upon which this monograph was based was undertaken along two lines: statistical estimation and field investigation. The publication in 1950 of the 1940 agricultural census,[8] and crop,[9] and livestock[10] data for 1948 provided a body of statistical information for the minor civil divisions (municípios) of the Brazilian states. The assembly and tentative plotting of data from the above sources was the preliminary phase of the study. The variable quality and limited scope of the data made necessary an extensive field inquiry to validate and to extend the statistical analysis. The field investigation was divided into two sections: (1) general appraisal; and (2) intensive study of the two dominant agricultural sub-regions. In the general appraisal an effort was made to observe as many of the agricultural centers of the Recôncavo as the time available allowed. During the intensive [114] study the investigator lived in the two sub-regions in an attempt to observe and understand the covert as well as the overt agricultural phenomena of the community and the functional organization of the local economy.

128 The opening chapters of the study (Chapters II through IV) deal with the physical background, historical evolution, and social and demographic characteristics of the agricultural society of the Recôncavo. There follows an analysis of the distribution of the individual crops and of the total cultivated area (Chapter V) and a discussion of the combinations and functional associations of crops and the characteristic systems of cultivation (Chapter VI). The place of livestock in the pattern of crop cultivation is appraised in Chapter VII, and the distribution of various types of agricultural properties are discussed in Chapter VIII. The succeeding chapters deal with the value of agricultural products (Chapter IX) and with the marketing, transportation, and

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128 processing of these products (Chapter X). The conclusion (Chapter XI) summarizes the agricultural geography of the Recôncavo and discusses the problems of agricultural development in the region.

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agriculturalist responds to rainfall not as a statistical mean but as rain falling from day to day and month to month. It is beyond the scope of this study to analyze the day to day march of precipitation--indeed, the poor data available merit no more than a superficial analysis. By a study of deviations from the annual and seasonal averages, it is possible to draw general conclusions and to qualify the patterns on the climatic maps. The analysis below deals with the two meteorological stations of the Recôncavo with reasonably reliable data—Salvador and Cruz das Almas—and is for the years 1947 through 1952. This span includes both relatively wet and relatively dry years. The accompanying table (Table I) presents the complete summary of mean figures and deviations.

Though the movement of annual and seasonal totals for these two sections was similar, the deviations from the averages were significantly different, as the accompanying table (Table I) reveals. For the major wet season, Salvador had a mean deviation of 10 per cent, Cruz das Almas of 16 per cent. The greater mean deviation in the interior corresponds to the usual generalization of drier areas having a less reliable (more deviate) rainfall pattern. Thus the farmer of Cruz das Almas, cultivating tobacco and manioc with a minimum of seasonal rainfall, must cope with more serious deviations from the "expected" average than the sugar cane planter in his zone of relatively plentiful rainfall.

Of the 36 wet season months (March-August for 6 years), 14 months had less than 100 mm. at Cruz das Almas, and 100 mm. falling in "well-distributed" showers, is the minimum monthly growing season precipitation necessary for tobacco, the chief commercial crop.[25]

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TABLE I

132 SUMMARY OF PRECIPITATION DATA--SALVADOR, CRUZ DAS ALMAS

	1952	1951	1950	1949	1948	1947
			Annual Precipitation - mm.			
Salvador	1846.4	1662.6	1741.4	2343.4	2074.2	2880.6
Cruz das Almas	1010.6	845.8	948.3	1235.3	1319.3	1067.6*
			March-August Precipitation - mm.			
Salvador	1510.0	1355.4	1136.5	1496.6	1645.6	1324.1
Cruz das Almas	567.3	594.3	544.6	737.7	909.4	638.8
			Deviation from Mean of 1411.4 mm. for Salvador and from 665.3 mm. for Cruz das Almas - mm.			
Salvador	+98.6	-56.0	-274.9	+85.2	+234.2	-87.3
Cruz das Almas	-98.0	-71.0	-120.7	+72.4	+244.1	-26.5
			Per cent Deviation from Mean			
Salvador	+ 7	- 4	- 19	+ 6	+ 17	- 6
Cruz das Almas	-15	-11	- 18	+11	+ 37	- 4
			October-December "Trovoada" Precipitation - mm.			
Salvador	297.5	167.2	293.0	464.5	361.2	891.8
Cruz das Almas	429.5	155.4	188.2	367.6	309.5	456.7
			Deviation from Mean of 410.9 mm. for Salvador and from 317.8 mm. for Cruz das Almas - mm.			
Salvador	-113.4	-243.7	-117.9	+53.6	-49.7	+480.9
Cruz das Almas	+111.7	-162.4	-129.6	+49.8	- 8.3	+138.9
			Per cent Deviation from Mean			
Salvador	-28	-59	- 29	+13	-12	+117
Cruz das Almas	+35	-51	- 41	+16	- 3	+ 43

[128] *The records of the Cruz das Almas station begin with April 1947. Therefore, the annual and March-August totals are fictional totals in which the mean January, February, and March figures 1948-1952 have been used.

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137 31 similar to caatinga sêca appear where soil and moisture conditions would seem to indicate caatinga grande. These areas are especially common where cultivation and grazing are intensive.

The wild vegetation of the Recôncavo is used for forage, timber, [313] and fuel. Only the mata is used for timber, and it is exploited only on a small scale. All three of the main vegetation types contribute toward supplying the local market with fuel--firewood and charcoal. The [314] mata is the principal charcoal source, especially in the forest zone northwest of the city of Salvador and along the Salvador-Feira de Santana highway. In the interior sections of the Recôncavo the caatinga and the agreste provide firewood for cooking and other household purposes. For grazing, the caatinga is far superior to the agreste and the mata, except when the latter is in the first stages of regrowth. Burning is employed extensively in an effort to increase the grazing value of the caatinga and agreste. At first this provides more grass and herbaceous growth, but after repeated burning and continuous over-grazing, there develops an impenetrable cover of thorny, tough brush, three to five feet tall, and quite valueless.[35]

13 Conclusion - Physical Setting. The analysis of the physical setting which is to serve as background for the discussion of agriculture in the Recôncavo does not reveal a homogeneous region. Rather it would seem that the Recôncavo is best visualized as a nodal region, with a relatively homogeneous but areally restricted core and a broad transitional perimeter. The perimeter is composed of several sub-regions, each with a distinctive transitional character. As a summation of [128] the physical setting, each of the sub-regions of the perimeter and core of the Recôncavo will be assigned a name, as a matter of convenience, with the physical elements briefly indicated for each:[36]

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433 241 178 Recôncavo remains today a backward and traditional agricultural society.

However, not all elements in Recôncavo life are static. In the field one was incessantly conscious both of the gradual course of change in this region and of the latent instability of its economic organization. Particularly in the last 75 years the agricultural economy of the Recôncavo has begun to shift--it is apparently in the throes of a drastic economic reorganization. It remains to be seen whether the traditional values will survive this economic revolution. [128] The brief historical discussion to follow is not intended as a substitute for a full-scale historical reconstruction. Its purpose is to indicate the major patterns in the evolution of the Recôncavo.

175 The Evolution of Colonial Agricultural Institutions. By the end of the initial half century of settlement (1600) those ethnic groups, crops, animals, and agricultural institutions which were to [567] become characteristic of the Recôncavo were already in evidence. Negro [249] slaves were brought in on the heels of the first Portuguese settlers,[3] [231] and sugar cane and cattle were also introduced at this time.[4] Tobacco [244] and manioc, produced by the Indians indigenous to the northeast of [349] Brazil, were rapidly integrated into the colonial agriculture of the [179] Recôncavo.[5] The combined sugar mill and plantation (engenho), which [249] was the basic economic institution of the Recôncavo until the end of [471] the nineteenth century, already existed in rudimentary form before 1600.[6]

175 249 [244] From the beginning the new colony in the Recôncavo had three important crops--sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc. It was the cultivation of sugar which the Portuguese crown and the initial settlers had

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CHAPTER IV

POPULATION

162 Introduction. In 1950 there were about one million people living
[161] in the 12,500 square kilometers of the Recôncavo--0.15 per cent of Brazil's area and about 2 per cent of its total population.[1] A more meaningful comparison is one with the effectively occupied coastal belt extending from Maranhão to Rio Grande do Sul, including the interior state of Minas Gerais.[2] The Recôncavo occupies 0.4 per cent of the area of these states and has a little over 2 per cent of the people.

[361] The relatively modest size of this population does not reflect adequately the great historical importance of the Recôncavo. The compact distribution and cohesion of this settlement make it a significant concentration of the people of modern Brazil.

161 The Recôncavo is the foremost nucleus of settlement in the state
162 of Bahia in both the historical and purely demographic sense. With its one million people, it had in 1950 almost 86 people per square kilometer. There were 3,800,000 people in the rest of the state, but there was no concentration which had a size and density equal to that of the Recôncavo. The only other areas with even approximately equal density--Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré--were contiguous with the
633 Recôncavo. The chief city of the Recôncavo, Salvador, was fourteen
162 times the size of any other urban center in Bahia, and of the five next most populous cities--with a population range of 20,000 to 30,000--two were in the Recôncavo.[3]

• 128 The discussion which follows is divided into two parts. First the general character of the population will be analyzed in terms of general cultural development, race, class, family, and economic

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128 orientation. This will be followed by a discussion of demography as a basis for the understanding of the agricultural economy.

181 The People of the Recôncavo - Introduction. The Recôncavo is the nucleus of a sub-culture which is a distinctive but integral part of the national culture of modern Brazil. Throughout Brazil the Baiano is characterized by a formality of behavior, an oratorical turn of speech, a sentimental attachment to the region of his birth, and a special accent which distinguishes him from the Mineiros, Paulistas, Gaúchos, or Pernambucanos of the other Brazilian regions.[4] These superficial distinctions seem to be a reflection of deep-seated differences in the culture and personality of the people who live in the Recôncavo and in the surrounding zone. On another level, the culture and personality of the people of the northeastern coast, including the inhabitants of the Recôncavo, is unlike that of the sertanejos (people of the arid northeastern interior--the Sertão).[5] Some of the culture and personality traits of the Recôncavo have a significant relationship to local agricultural phenomena.

178 181 241 567 The Baiano of today, as has been seen, is the product of several centuries of historical evolution along lines distinct from those of Central and Southern Brazil and to a lesser degree from those of the rest of the Northeast. A significant feature of the development of the Recôncavo was the social cohesiveness which derived in a large measure from the original strength and periodic re-enforcement of the slave labor latifundia system. Although this system was operative in other regions of Brazil, it was generally less highly organized, and its vestiges have had less impact on contemporary society. In the Recôncavo it remained the chief cohesive social force until the end of the nineteenth century, and cultural and economic survivals of the system remain in force today.

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128 Demography of the Recôncavo. The discussion of the composition and distribution of the population in the Recôncavo which follows is intended primarily as a basis for the study of agricultural phenomena. As such it is concerned with those population elements which are important in the production and distribution of agricultural products and in the servicing of the agricultural economy. The agricultural labor force is therefore the primary object of analysis, while the remaining population elements receive secondary consideration.

128 162 241 464 369 The population of the Recôncavo has been divided into two segments: (1) the rural population of the countryside and villages, which includes those engaged in direct agricultural production and those with a direct service or dependency relationship to agriculture; and (2) the urban population of the towns and cities, which has an indirect service or dependency relationship to agricultural production. (Table VI). The rural population has been subdivided in order to distinguish the agricultural labor force, consisting of those in direct agricultural production as workers or as administrators, from the service and dependent groups.[20] The accompanying table (Table VII) relates the area, total population, urban and rural population, and agricultural labor force of the 21 municipios of the Recôncavo.

241 464 [162] Agricultural Labor Force. Conceived in the narrowest sense, the basic human resource for agricultural production in the Recôncavo consists of the energy and skill of 196,000 agriculturalists--the agriculture labor force (Table VIII). In census terminology these are people ten years old or over who consider their principal occupation as that of employer, employee, or worker in crop cultivation (agricultura), animal husbandry (pecuária), or silviculture. In the Recôncavo these people are primarily cultivators and operators of farms

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 112]

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241 464 and plantations, and to a lesser extent, ranchers and vaquéiros (cowboys).[21] Silviculture is not an important occupation in the Recôncavo.

161 162 241 464 634 The mean density of the agricultural labor force for the Recôncavo was 15.7 per square kilometer. Since the distribution is very irregular, this mean density is far from representative of local situations--only six municípios had densities within 10 per cent of the mean. Because of the uneven distribution of cultivation, mean [128] figures for individual municípios, especially the larger ones, are [127] likely to be equally misleading. In the discussion which follows the gross distributions derived from census data have been modified on the basis of field observation and of inferences drawn from related demographic, cartographic, and agricultural information.[22]

161 162 241 464 The density of agricultural workers in the Central Recôncavo (Map 18) is appreciably higher than in the surrounding areas, except in the southwest. This central zone has densities in excess of 20 per square kilometer, and within it are four areas with densities in excess of 25 per square kilometer. Along the border of the Recôncavo, densities usually fall to 10 per square kilometer. However, this is not true of the more densely occupied "bridge" zone which connects the area of heavy concentration in the Recôncavo, south of the Rio Paraguaçu, with the "coffee area" to the southwest beyond the Recôncavo. The map of densities (Map 18) and the dot map (Map 17) of the agricultural labor force suggest that this population segment is clustered in areas which generally have an eccentric location in relation to such centers as Salvador and the Baía de Todos os Santos.

Over 20 per cent of the agricultural workers of the Recôncavo live along the southern, western, and northern extremes of the region,

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[14]See section by Charles Wagley in Wagley, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

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[15]Smith, op. cit., pp. 637-640, citing Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1939/40, states that there were 687 church marriages for each civil marriage in Bahia. The number of common law marriages is, obviously, not precisely known. Brazilian statutes do not permit divorce from civil marriage.

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[16]The chief exception to this social pattern is during Carnaval, when people of all classes "let themselves go." However, it is mainly the adolescents of the upper class who, for the moment, escape from the rigid social code of their class.

[17]As a consequence of the high mobility of the lower class, many of these community or neighborhood identifications are transitory. However, because of the free social intercourse within the class, the local relationships are quickly established and easily maintained. The core of local identification and of the community or neighborhood seems to be maintained primarily by the more stable upper-stratum of the class.

[18]The industries, trading houses, and exporters of Salvador are concerned to a large degree with agricultural products.

[19]For the United States, see Smith, op. cit., p. 221. For Brazil, calculated from the 1940 census.

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[20]A special statement is required because the problems of deriving data for population in this region profoundly affect the reliability of the demographic analysis. At the time this analysis was made, only incomplete and preliminary population data from the 1950 census had been published. Total population data by political units--municípios and distritos--and by "urban" places were available. It was necessary to estimate the agricultural occupational data. The 1950 agricultural labor force was projected from the 1940 data on the basis of changes in the rural population. Because the agricultural labor force and the rural population of which it is a part are subject to approximately the same social and economic forces, it was assumed that the change in the latter could be used to project the 1950 size of the former. The tables showing the derivation of the agricultural labor force for 1950 are based upon this procedure.

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[21]In 1940 the composition of this occupational group--based upon a combination of population census and agricultural census data--for the state of Bahia was approximately as follows:

Independent operators	44 per cent
Members of family	27 per cent
Employees	24 per cent
Employers	2 per cent
Non-owner administrators	2.5 per cent

Thus less than 5 per cent of the agricultural labor force were administrators; the others were either cultivators, vaqueiros, or agricultural laborers. In the Recôncavo the administrative group probably was relatively smaller.

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[22]In a region of such large statistical areas and diverse physical resources, it is almost inevitable that mean figures for some municípios, such as Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Irará, or, most of all, Santo Amaro,

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000 BB [128] should be misleading. District data are desirable, but occupational breakdowns for these smaller political units are available neither for 1940 nor 1950. Furthermore, the areas of these districts cannot be calculated with even minimal accuracy from existing sources. Thus the distribution of rural population and agricultural labor force within municípios is largely a matter of inference. For example, the 1950 agricultural labor force was estimated, as has been seen, from the 1940 data and changes in rural population. Densities for each município were calculated from these estimates, and these densities were used as guides, in conjunction with the total populations of the various districts, in determining the distributional patterns of the map of the density of the agricultural labor force and the dot map of agricultural labor force. These maps are thus inferential distributions of inferred data.

[23]Smith, op. cit., p. 297.

BB [435] [24]Labor turnover is one of the explanations proffered for the high cost of sugar production in Bahia.

[25]The explanations offered by these migrants are various: lack of opportunity, a hostile or unfriendly landlord or creditor, a quarrel within the family or neighborhood, crop failure, or a desire to be near relatives.

[26]Joint Brazil-United States Economic Development Commission, The Development of Brazil (Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Foreign Operations Division. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), p. 16.

BB [496] [27]However, these people muster tremendous energy for festas (holidays or feast days), especially Carnaváll. At such a time, a middle-aged lady with a chronic heart condition was observed to dance, in a procession, for several miles down the road. During the novena of Nossa Senhora de Purificão in Santo Amaro, the troups of performers will journey many miles to attend the celebration, dance and sing throughout the nights of each of the nine days, and without rest return to their homes.

BB [633] [28]The people of nine urban centers of the Recôncavo--Salvador, Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Cachoeira-São Félix, Santo Amaro, Maragogipe, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and São Gonçalo--are thus excluded from the rural population. These are the nine ranking cities of the Recôncavo, and all except São Gonçalo have more than 5,000 people. In addition to industry, those transportation, financial, retail, trade, and administrative functions which are not strictly local are confined to these urban centers, as well as wholesale trade and international commerce.

B [631] [633] [29]It is significant that Brazil has no urban political unit per se--the município or the distrito has both urban (city, town, or village) and rural sections without administrative expression.

B BB [565] [622] [851] [30]In this society there are many women, especially in the lower class, who can scarcely be considered as dependent. Moreover, as has been seen, children are also frequently productive members of lower class families. In the upper class of the villages and towns, however, there are many children and housewives whose activities are either purely domestic or are only indirectly productive.

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CHAPTER V

CROPS AND CROPLAND DISTRIBUTION

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Introduction. The Recôncavo is an enclave of cultivated land facing on the sea and more than half surrounded by the Sertão of Northeastern Brazil. It is one of a number of detached areas of dense settlement and intensive crop cultivation scattered along the northeastern coast--Pernambuco, Sergipe, Alagoas, and the states of the northern coast of the "bulge" of Brazil have similar coastal nuclei. Indeed, this littoral mode of settlement is characteristic of Brazil, although in the center and the south of the country the concentrations of settlement and cultivation are usually separated from the ocean by a belt of rough hills or mountains. A glance at a population map clearly reveals that Brazil is a coastal nation as far as the distribution of its people is concerned; indirectly such a map demonstrates the coastal distribution of crop cultivation. In this, Brazil somewhat resembles the United States at the opening of the nineteenth century when it, too, was altogether a nation of the Atlantic seaboard. The specific nuclear character of the Recôncavo dates from the beginning of its settlement--it was from the first a region of crop cultivation, and the settlement of the sertão of Bahia derived from the people and needs of the Recôncavo. During the four centuries since the Portuguese first came, the crops, animals, and systems of production of the Recôncavo have retained much of their original character.

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The present chapter deals with the principal activity of the Recôncavo, the production of crops. As a preliminary to the discussion of the individual crops and their distributions, it is appropriate to

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sketch the modes of cropland distribution which are characteristic of the region. This introductory discussion will be extended in the conclusion of the chapter, when it will be possible to discuss the general patterns of cropland distribution and the changes in the intensity of land use in terms of the specific component crops. The details of the practices of cultivation will be discussed in Chapter VI.

The mean intensity of crop cultivation within the Recôncavo is high only in terms of the surrounding sertão. Indeed, there are very few areas of Brazil of any great size in which the intensity of land use is comparable to that of such areas as Northwestern Europe, Japan, India, or even the Midwest of the United States. The landscape of the Recôncavo is composed of a series of small, intensively utilized areas separated and surrounded by zones in which the cultivation of crops is scattered. As a result, the mean intensity of cultivation is low—for the Recôncavo generally, mean figures for agricultural phenomena tend to mask great differences between specific areas. As will be seen, the chief concentrations of crop cultivation are in the Central Recôncavo and on the seaward edge of the Uplands. The principal zones of scattered cultivation are in the Intermediate Hills, in the littoral forest behind the beach line, and on the interior margins of the Uplands where the Recôncavo gradually gives way to the sertão.

Even within the areas of relatively intensive cultivation, there are many interruptions. These gaps are not very conspicuous within the restricted confines of the sugar-cane growing Central Recôncavo, but elsewhere the continuity of the fields is broken by patches of second growth and by the slopelands and wet valley bottoms. Most of the cultivated areas of the Recôncavo seem to reflect the grudging acquiescence of nature to the efforts of man and not the triumph of the cultivator

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the errors concerned crops of trivial importance, but occasionally the use of such erroneous data would have produced serious misinterpretations. Where this has been the case, it was necessary to estimate a more appropriate figure. Such estimates were developed by inferences from related statistical data supported by observations in the field. The procedures which were employed are illustrated in full in Appendix D through a detailed analysis of the data (for manioc) which were most thoroughly modified in this fashion. Wherever modified, rather than official data have been used in the text, the official data and the basis of modification have been indicated in a footnote or in the appendix.

Crops and Animals of the Recôncavo. A very large number of crops are known to the agriculturalists of the Recôncavo, but the number of important crops is small. It is convenient to divide these into three groups--basic subsistence crops, basic commercial crops, and supplementary (minor subsistence and commercial) crops. As will be seen, many subsistence crops have their commercial importance, but the present concern is only with a broad grouping. The crops of the Recôncavo are listed below, together with their local names and the area of their cultivation in 1948:

Basic Subsistence Crops:	
Manioc or Cassava (Mandioca)	22,472 hectares
Corn (Milho)	9,679 "
Beans (Feijão)	7,034 "
Bananas (Banana)	1,069 "
Peanuts (Amendoim)	550 "
Sweet Potatoes (Batata doce)	344 "
Basic Commercial Crops:	
Tobacco (Fumo)	21,886 "
Sugar Cane (Cana de Açúcar)	11,695 "
Coffee (Café)	2,941 "
Orange (Laranja)	1,116 "
Coconut (Côco)	876 "

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Footnotes - Chapter V

000 [1]The outstanding example of the ribbon development of cropland is along the highway which traverses the Crystalline Uplands from Santo Antônio to Feira de Santana. Each of the cidades along this road—Conceição do Almeida, Cruz das Almas, Muritiba, São Félix, Cachoeira, Conceição da Feira, and São Gonçalo—is the center of an intensively cultivated zone and is connected with the others by a belt of cropland running along the highway. In part this ribbon development is the result [133] of restrictive factors; in Conceição da Feira and São Gonçalo the intensively cultivated strip runs between the rough Intermediate Hills on the [132] east and the dry caatinga on the west. The same negative relationships are characteristic of the Southwestern Recôncavo, but the intermediate zone of acceptable terrain and climate is here broader than in the north.

[2]Produção Agrícola: 1948.

[3]Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, "Pobulação Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948."

[4]For a map of manioc production in Latin America, see: Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Map of "Manioc Estimated Production Latin America," Agriculture in the Americas, Vol. III, Nos. 8-9 (August-September, 1947), p. 120.

• [128] [5]A more detailed discussion of processing of farinha de mandioca is given in Chapter X.

[6]Ruth Matos Almeida Simões, "Comentário do Mapa da Produção de Mandioca no Estado da Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. XI, No. 112, (January-February, 1953) pp. 84-86.

[7]It is likely that the official figures underestimate the area and production of manioc. A considerable part of the crop is grown on small plots remote from political centers and well-traveled routes and may thus have escaped the enumerator. Moreover, its cultivation is so commonplace and its exchange often so local and in such small quantities that even tax-conscious local government officials may easily be unaware [127] of small and scattered plots which in sum may bulk fairly large. Some of the official data which have been used in the analysis of manioc cultivation, production, and value have been modified. For a discussion of these modifications and for maps based upon the unmodified data, see Appendix D.

[8]Conceição do Almeida, Cruz das Almas, and São Filipe.

[9]This popular and official view underestimates the importance of [128] manioc production in its own right. The commercial element in manioc production is discussed in Chapter IX.

[128] [10]The system of manioc cultivation will be discussed in conjunction with the tobacco-manioc system in Chapter VI.

[245] [11]The "coffee zone" of Bahia includes a number of municípios, from Laje (adjoining Santo Antônio) to Jequié along the Estrada de Ferro Nazaré

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[12] Centered in the município of Valença.

[127] [13] In the comparison of yields here and in the following discussion, the data for Brazil and for the other countries or regions have been taken from the 1948-1950 yields as given in: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Yearbook of Food and Agricultural Statistics 1953, Vol. VII, Part I (Rome, Italy: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 1954), pp. 1-334.

[128] [14] For a more detailed discussion of tobacco grades and zones, see Appendix E.

[15] Because of the great variations in tobacco area from year to year, the data for a single season are a less reliable guide to characteristic distribution for tobacco than for most other crops of the Recôncavo. The modifications which have been made in the official data are given in Appendix D.

[16] See Appendix E.

[17] The great local variation in yield in these zones is probably due to the concentration of the small quantity of tobacco in areas of highly diverse soils and irregular precipitation.

[18] However, this comparison should be considered with regard for the harvesting practices mentioned above.

[19] In ten of the thirteen years from 1939 to 1951, the area planted in tobacco in the Recôncavo rose and fell in accordance with the price of the preceding year. Data from: Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, Contribuição do Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, A Report Prepared for the First National Tobacco Congress (Salvador, Bahia: Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, 1952), pp. 1-16.

[127] [20] The sources used in the discussion of tobacco production for 1931 to 1951, in this and the following paragraphs, were: (1) Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, Contribuição do Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, pp. 1-16; and (2) Antonio Monato Marques, Geografia do Fumo na Bahia (Salvador, Bahia: Centro de Estudos Ruralistas Monato Marques [1952]), pp. 1-85.

[128] [21] For a more detailed discussion of this aspect of tobacco-manioc cultivation, see the discussion of the tobacco-manioc system in Chapter VI.

[127] [22] The common practice of corn-bean interculture raises a problem in the interpretation of the statistical data which is discussed in Appendix D, as are modifications in the official data for corn.

[241] [35] [23] The typical American or European garden, a permanent area for the production of household vegetables, fruits, and herbs, is practically unknown in the Recôncavo. Garden crops are grown at odd places within the cultivated areas or scattered around the houses, except for a few small, fenced plots for food production within the sugar cane zone. In all these gardens there is a very limited variety of crops.

[128] [24] The system of sugar cane cultivation will be discussed in Chapter VI.

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[127] [25]The official data for banana production have been adjusted, as is shown in Appendix D. According to: Immigration and Colonization Council, Modern Brazil (Rio de Janeiro: Immigration and Colonization Council, 1949), p. 119, a bunch of Brazilian bananas contains an average of 60 fruits and weighs 8 kilograms.

[351] [565] [26]Indeed, bananas are common plants within the city. Each upper class house, perched on top of the ridge, has its banana grove on the declivity behind. In the valley bottoms, banana plants surround the adobe houses of the lower class.

[27]These yields are offered for the purpose of general comparison. The diversity of conversion figures used in estimating the weight of bananas does not allow for precise comparison.

[127] [28]The official data for area in coffee in São Filipe apparently is a three-fold exaggeration, unless the yields are incredibly low. The production data are more reasonable.

[244] [29]Although manioc is not an annual plant, it is usually harvested in the Recôncavo before it is a year old. It seems more useful to classify these plants as annuals or perennials by their respective systems of cultivation rather than by their botanical characteristics.

[30]This comparison is somewhat unfair to Paraíba and Alagoas, since these states both include extensive non-agricultural areas, while the Recôncavo is an area specifically selected on the basis of intensity of agricultural land use.

[128] [31]For a comparison of 1940 and 1948 cultivated and agricultural area, see Appendix F.

[127] [249] [32]The cropland figure for Serrinha, derived from the 1948 data, is 25 per cent larger than the cultivated area given in the 1940 census. A complicating and contradictory line of evidence is supplied by the data on tobacco production, which is usually a good index of crop cultivation changes in this area. The tobacco production of Serrinha showed a decided decline from 1940 to 1948. It can only be assumed, in the light of the obvious growth of the cidade, that there was some expansion, but in food crops rather than in tobacco.

[33]The region which includes these two municípios follows the railroad from Nazaré to Jequié--the Estrada de Ferro Nazaré--and includes all the municípios touched by the line. In general this is thought of as a "coffee zone," but in its eastern section other crops, notably sugar cane and tobacco, displace coffee as the chief commercial products. Where this region approaches the Recôncavo most closely, in northern Santo Antônio, it is difficult to draw the boundary between the two. However, in 1948, even in 1953, the basic economic associations of Santo Antônio were with the railroad zone.

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CHAPTER VI

CROP REGIONS AND SYSTEMS

128 241 The discussion in the preceding sections has emphasized the analysis of the character and distribution of individual crops. As has been suggested, the Recôncavo has several specific crop associations, particularly manioc with tobacco and corn with beans, and several monocultural systems--sugar cane, coconuts, and coffee. The discussion which follows will deal with the crop associations and monocultures as areal and as functional groupings--a first step in the synthetic development of the sub-regional and regional patterns of agriculture in the Recôncavo. Since the município tends to be a highly integrated micro-region with a distinctive pattern of crops and cropland, the first level of generalization is this politically delimited local area. The summation of the crop pattern of the local area leads to the determination of the region in which crops are cultivated in isolation or in co-existence and in which co-existent crops are cultivated in interdependent crop systems.

128 241 311 Crop Ranks. In order to determine the areal importance of the principal crops in relation to each other, the crops of the several municípios of the Recôncavo and the adjoining regions were ranked in accordance with the amount of the cropland area which they occupied. The accompanying series of maps, based upon these rankings, reveal that more cropland was devoted to manioc (Map 65) than any other crop in seven municípios. Tobacco occupied this position in six municípios, sugar cane in four municípios, corn in three, and cocomuts in one. The relative area devoted to these five most cultivated crops varied from

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311 In many municípios on the north, west, and southwest of the Recôncavo, where corn and beans were the first and second crops, manioc and tobacco were third and fourth or vice versa. On the other hand, sugar cane was rarely a significant crop in any município where either corn, beans, tobacco, or manioc occupied a leading position.

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311 Crop Combinations and Monocultures. The crop combinations shown on Map 71 and Map 72 exist on two levels, as statistical combinations of the crops of various municípios and as functional associations of crops grown in an interdependent system.

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311 The statistical crop combinations of the Central Recôncavo do not correspond to functional systems of cultivation, for although sugar cane, manioc, and tobacco are produced within individual municípios, the cultivation of sugar cane is entirely separate. The manioc and sugar cane of São Filipe and the tobacco and coffee of São Félix are also cultivated separately. The statistical combinations, therefore, merely summarize the economic specialization and diversification of the município economies. The tobacco-manioc and the corn-bean combinations of most municípios of the perimeter of the Recôncavo, from Alagoinhas on the northeast to Conceição do Almeida on the southwest, signify functional as well as statistical relationships. On the other hand, monocultural systems dominate within the Central Recôncavo and in a few other places. The areas in which the individual functional combinations and monocultures predominate are delimited as nodal crop regions on Map 73. The arrows on the map (Map 73) indicate the intermeshing of crop regions in the transitional zones.

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311 The most extensive of the crop regions belongs to tobacco and manioc. In this region, which extends from the Southwestern Recôncavo in a long arc to the Eastern Recôncavo, at least 70 per cent and usually

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249 The portion of the sugar cane region north of the Bay is an area
161 of relatively dense rural population, with a large number of villages
361 and plantation settlements and one city--Santo Amaro. The remaining areas of the sugar cane region have only moderately dense rural populations and no major urban centers, although the cidade of Nazaré is very close to the southern border of São Filipe.

[128] The tremendous historical significance of the sugar cane region has been discussed at length in the section on the historical setting of the
249 Recôncavo. As far as the sugar cane zone of Santo Amaro, São Francisco,
198 and São Sebastião is concerned, the extent of the region does not appear to have changed very much since colonial times. Old engenhos are found throughout the zone, indicating past cultivation in all areas now in cane. The present usinas cultivate sugar cane intensively clear across the Cretaceous zone, so that it is not likely that the cane area has contracted. However, there are several abandoned engenhos and settlements on the north and east shores of the estuary of the Paraguaçu which seem to indicate that sugar cane cultivation was formerly more extensive around the Bacia do Iguape.

244 The two intensive crop regions of tobacco and manioc and sugar
249 cane, as outlined above, can be viewed as nodal areas which are basic
311 to the regional distinctiveness of the Recôncavo; they are for all practical purposes included totally within its limits; their crop patterns are not duplicated in any nearby area; and they include within their boundaries a very large part--and the most productive part--of its agricultural area.

241 In distinction to the above intra-Recôncavo regions there are
311 at least three crops which overlap the borders of the Recôncavo, forming crop regions which have their most characteristic development in adjoining areas. The Atlantic coast of Salvador and Itaparica supports

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lower intensity of crop cultivation beyond the Recôncavo gives livestock greater relative importance around the periphery.

Cattle were the most numerous of the major livestock in the Recôncavo in 1948, except in four municípios--Cruz das Almas, Conceição do Almeida, São Filipe, and Itaparica, where there were more swine. Cattle were also the most numerous livestock in all municípios bordering the Recôncavo on the east and north and in Castro Alves on the west.

Apparently the total cattle population in the Recôncavo is increasing rapidly. In 1940 there were only 250,000 cattle in the Recôncavo; in 1948, 394,990. It is inferred from both the state livestock data for 1952[5] and from field observation that this growth continued through 1953, though probably at a more moderate rate. Unfortunately, a comparison of the total cattle population of most of the municípios in 1940 with the number in 1948 does not provide a clear basis for generalizations which can be checked against the situation as observed in the field. Either many of the data are in error, or the changes in cattle population were often unrelated to the general pattern of agricultural development in many municípios. Some of the changes indicated by the data can be accepted without too much question--the growth of the cattle population of Feira de Santana, 206 per cent, is a concomitant, it seems likely, of the general increase in cattle population in Bahia. It is possible that the contemporary growth of the city of Salvador and the improved transportation system have produced a precipitous decline in the cattle population in the sub-urban area and an increase in the tributary area beyond--Camassari, Mata de São João, and Pojuca. The population growth of the cidade of Alagoinhas apparently has resulted in a local displacement of cattle fazendas but in a peripheral expansion of livestock production. The decline

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[7]The marketing system of tobacco will be treated in the chapter on marketing. The development of the supervisory government agencies was discussed in the chapter on the evolution of the Recôncavo.

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CHAPTER IX

VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

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The analysis of the distribution of cropland and of the quantity of production has established the Recôncavo as a distinctive regional unit of Bahia and of Brazil without formulating clearly the importance of the region to the state or the nation. Similarly, the internal differentiation of the region has been discussed in terms of various municípios, sub-regions, and crop regions without establishing the basic importance of these to the Recôncavo except as components of the agricultural landscape or as producers of crops with an unspecified value. Although the value of agricultural production is not exclusively economic, monetary value is one of the most useful general standards for estimating the collective and individual importance of diverse agricultural products.

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The tables and discussion which follow have three purposes: (1) the estimation of the importance of the Recôncavo and its individual products to the Brazilian and the Bahian economy; (2) the determination of the importance of individual products within the economy of the region; and (3) the evaluation of the economic importance of the crop regions, previously delimited, to the Recôncavo.

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The total value of the crops of the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total value of crop production in Brazil in 1948, based upon a comparison of the value of 21 principal crops of Brazil and of the Recôncavo which are given in Table XV. Although for several centuries the region was an outstandingly productive center of the Brazilian economy, today it plays a secondary role even within Bahia. In recent decades the southern coast of the state, growing cacao for foreign markets, has

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241 433 Except in the southwest and around Salvador, commercial crops produced only 40 per cent of the total value of all crops. It is apparent that agriculture in the Recôncavo is by no means universally commercial. Moreover, in all parts of the Recôncavo except the sugar cane area, there are small agriculturalists who produce few commercial crops and are thus virtually subsistence cultivators.

241 231 233 433 The estimated value of livestock production was less than that of crops in all areas of the Recôncavo except Feira de Santana, and, except in Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas, less than half the value of crops (Map 128). In the chief commercial crop areas--Central and Southwestern Recôncavo--livestock production had about 10 per cent of the value of crops. These areas, on the evidence of value as well as land use and quantity of production, have highly commercial crop economies. Only Feira de Santana can be said to have a livestock economy, and in this area livestock production is concentrated around the cidade, and the rest of the município has a predominately crop-producing economy.

128 241 231 233 433 The table which follows (Table XVIII) summarizes the distribution of the value of crops and animals in the principal regions and zones of production. These areas accounted for 82 per cent of the total value of agricultural production in the Recôncavo in 1948. The data of this table give further evidence of the tremendous economic importance of the tobacco-manioc and sugar cane regions to the Recôncavo.

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000 Footnotes - Chapter II

[127] [1]The data used in the discussion of the value of agricultural production have been drawn from the following sources: 1948 crop data--Produção Agrícola: 1948; 1948 livestock data--"Pobulação Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948;" 1940 crop and livestock data--Recenseamento Géral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

[128] The modifications which have been made in the data taken from Produção Agrícola: 1948 are explained in Appendix D. The method used in estimating the value of livestock production in 1948 is explained in Appendix G.

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CHAPTER X

MARKETING, TRANSPORTATION, AND PROCESSING OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

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Introduction. The institutions of marketing, processing, and transportation in the Recôncavo are of two basic types, local and regional. Those which serve the local economies, that is, the municípios, are traditional. These are the municipal market and the casa de farinha (manioc mill). The institutions which serve the regional economy--sugar and tobacco processing plants and marketing systems--have their traditional element but have been extensively modified in the last half century. Much the same division is reflected in the transportation systems of the Recôncavo, for although the chief media within the local economies are essentially traditional and primitive, the transportation [178] 489 128 net of the region as a whole has a number of modern features. The discussion which follows will deal with the various institutions which have developed in the Recôncavo to accommodate the marketing, transportation, and processing of the more important agricultural products.

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Marketing of Agricultural Products. Municipal markets play an important role in the exchange of the agricultural products in the Recôncavo as in most of Brazil. Large quantities of agricultural goods are sold within the local area in which they are produced, and much of this exchange takes place within the municipal market. The feira is the regular open market which usually is held once a week in the smaller centers but somewhat more frequently in the larger cities. It [366] is usually housed in a public building, the municipal mercado. The other type of municipal market is the matadôuro municipál (slaughter

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CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

128 In the preceding chapters the results of a statistical appraisal and a field investigation of agriculture in the Recôncavo have been presented. As a conclusion it seems appropriate to: (1) summarize the findings; and (2) discuss the potentialities of the Recôncavo for agricultural development

433 241 Like most of the densely-settled east coast of Brasil, the Recôncavo is engaged primarily in the production of crops. This is true not only of the region as a whole, but also of each of its individual parts excepting only the area around the cattle market town of Feira de Santana. The total cultivated area of the region, about 6.4 per cent 241 311 of the land surface, was almost evenly divided in 1948 between purely commercial crops--tobacco, sugar cane, coffee, oranges, and coconuts--and subsistence-commercial crops--manioc, corn, beans, bananas, peanuts, and sweet potatoes. About 70 per cent of the cropland was used for the three predominant crops--manioc, tobacco, and sugar cane. Livestock production is associated with crop cultivation in many parts of the 231 233 241 Recôncavo, but the region is also dependent upon the sertão of Bahia for livestock, which are driven into Feira de Santana and are used in several different areas within the region.

249 244 433 The three principal crops as determined by cultivated area--tobacco, manioc, and sugar cane--accounted for 77 per cent of the total value of crops in 1948, and no other crop accounted for more than 231 233 6 per cent of the total value. Thus agriculture in the Recôncavo is primarily concerned with these three crops and with the production

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241 The following assumptions underlie the discussion of the potentialities for agricultural development in the Recôncavo: (1) The Recôncavo, at least for the immediately foreseeable future, will remain a primarily agricultural region, i.e., agricultural production will remain the basic source of wealth. (2) Probably the region will continue to be dependent upon distant markets, either in central Brazil, Europe, or in the United States. (3) The population of the region apparently will continue to grow, as the result of the natural increase and probably as a result of continued migration from the sertão. If these assumptions are correct, two conclusions seem almost inescapable: (1) Commercial agriculture, at least partially oriented toward outside markets, will continue to be essential to the region, and, if imports are to keep pace with the growing population, will have to be expanded. (2) Greater food production will be necessary. It should be noted that these assumptions and conclusions are probably valid for Brazil as a whole as well as for the Recôncavo. Moreover, they are merely a restatement of the situation in which both the nation and region have found themselves for the last four centuries.

The two problems of food and export crop production are closely related--arable land is limited in the Recôncavo, and food production is necessary for the operation of the commercial agricultural economy. These two problems in their turn are inseparable from the physical and social context in which they exist. It is the particular advantage of agricultural geography that it provides the framework within which specific agricultural problems may be evaluated in relation to the relevant human and physical environmental factors. The discussion 128 241 which follows will deal with the two basic problems of agricultural development under the following categories: (1) the sugar industry;

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128 241 (2) tobacco production; (3) manioc production; (4) the land rotation system; and (5) alternative agricultural products.

249 471 For three centuries the sugar industry was the basis of the commercial economy of the Recôncavo, and for the last century it has continued to play an important role. As a result of its long and profitable history, it has a number of advantages as a basis for agricultural development. Its capital assets are large--the best land in the region, a number of industrial plants, and a transportation network. Moreover, its [565] land is organized into large units, many of which are under the control of a single company, and all of which are under the control of a small group of the upper class. The industry has a large administrative staff, the most experienced in the region in large-scale enterprises--the organization of agricultural and industrial production, labor, transportation, and finance. It has the very great advantage of good political connections and government support. A part of the industry, [242] composed chiefly of the largest usinas, has had some experience with improved varieties of cane, and on a very limited scale with mechanization.

249 471 433 Against these advantages are a number of limiting factors. Most of the local capital of the sugar industry apparently is committed in the present plant. The sugar economy of the Recôncavo is large scale only in relation to the other agricultural enterprises of the region--the mean daily capacity of the mills can scarcely exceed 500 ton. Moreover, many of the mills are obsolescent--there is only one new usina, and only the larger mills have very much new equipment. Despite [464] the presumed administrative skill of the industry, labor has been one [178] of the continuing problems since the deterioration of the old feudalistic [466] employer-employee relationships of the late nineteenth century. However,

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APPENDIX D

Changes in Crop Data

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The crop data in Produção Agrícola: 1948 were gathered by statistical agencies of the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística established in each cidade of Bahia and of most other states in Brazil. The quality of statistical data assembled is highly variable, depending in part upon the efficiency of the agent but also upon the size of the município and upon whether the products are easily assessable, or are marketed locally, and a number of other factors. In a number of cases it has been necessary to modify obviously erroneous parts of the official data, which were sometimes contradictory and sometimes at variance with the agricultural pattern as determined by field investigation. This usually has been done by interpolating from other more creditable data from the same basic source or from other sources. In the following pages the important changes which have been made in the data for various crops will be discussed, and maps based upon the original data will be presented.

When the data for area, production, and value were combined to determine yield and price, and these relationships were mapped, certain obvious errors and a number of clues to the direction and extent of error were discernible because the general outline of price and yield pattern in the Recôncavo was clear. Generally one of the three base figures--area, production, or value--was accepted as valid and the others adjusted to bring yield and/or price into line. Because of an almost complete lack of property surveys, the crop area data are at best a gross estimate and liable to great error. On the other hand, the location of the statistical bureau in the cidades, usually the primary market, does give opportunity to make reasonably close estimates of value and production, at least of marketed crops.

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241 of value and production, at least of marketed crops. The choice between
433 value or production as a base figure for correction was dependent upon
127 the individual case and the generally expected pattern of price and
128 yield.

244 Manioc. The basic shortcomings of the manioc data were clearly
433 revealed when area and production figures were combined to show yield.
127 While the mean calculated yield for the Recôncavo was 16.3 tons per
128 hectare, the mean calculated yield for individual municípios varied from 5.3 tons per hectare for Salvador to 39.0 tons per hectare for São Filipe (Map 130). Certain variations, related to precipitation, soil, and intensity and care of cultivation, are to be expected, but the yield maps revealed incredible contrasts. Especially noteworthy was the case of São Filipe, with its yield of 39 tons per hectare. Adjoining Cruz das Almas and Conceição do Almeida, with similar and if anything more efficient practices of cultivation and with similar soils and climate--especially since most manioc in São Filipe is grown in the area adjoining Cruz das Almas and Conceição do Almeida--produced only 14 and 10 tons per hectare, respectively. It was apparent that at least one element in the São Filipe data was in error. The other municípios with exceptionally high yields--São Francisco, with 34.5 tons per hectare, and Santo Amaro, with 25.3 tons per hectare--probably can be explained by high productivity when manioc is grown on a small and intensive scale on the more fertile clay soils.

In São Filipe the yield calculated from official data was three
[435] to four times that of the surrounding municípios. Moreover, the unit value per ton was Cr.$60, compared with Cr.$150 to Cr.$200 for adjacent areas. The conclusion that the production figure was an error was re-enforced through a comparison of the density of production in

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244 São Filipe, 230 tons per square kilometer, with the 162 tons per square
433 kilometer of Conceição do Almeida, a more notable producer.
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• 128 It was assumed that the unit value in São Filipe was the mean of the prices of Maragogipe and Conceição do Almeida--São Filipe is midway between these municípios in terms of location, transport, and external market relationship--and that:

$$\text{Production} = \frac{\text{Value}}{\text{Unit Value}} = \frac{4,290,000}{\frac{170 + 190}{2}} = 27,333 \text{ tons}$$

This figure is close to 28,000 tons, and it was inferred that the original figure had been transposed to 82,000 tons. Yield was then derived:

$$\frac{28,000 \text{ tons}}{2,100 \text{ hectares}} = 13.3 \text{ tons per hectare}$$

compared with 13.9 tons per hectare for Cruz das Almas and 11.1 tons per hectare for São Félix, nearby areas with similar conditions. Perhaps this yield is slightly high, but it is in the possible range of variation, and is an acceptable approximation.

[435] There was a second problem in Irará. The unit value of manioc here was Cr.$90 per ton, compared to Cr.$300 in nearby Coração de Maria, Cr.$240 in Feira de Santana, and Cr.$320 in Santo Amaro. Moreover, the density of production was very high, 26.45 tons per square kilometer total area, compared to 10.72 tons per square kilometer for Coração de Maria, especially since so much of northern Irará is not densely settled. When Cr.$200 per ton was postulated as the unit value of manioc, the production derived was 10,500 tons. Yield calculated by using this figure and the original area data would be 4.38 tons per hectare, which is unreasonably small. The yield calculated from the original data--14.6 tons per hectare--seemed approximately correct, and using these yield figures, with the derived production value of 10,500 tons, area was calculated as 719 hectares. The new area figure

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244 gave 0.54 tons per square kilometer total area, which corresponded to
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127 0.59 tons per square kilometer for Coração de Maria.
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[435] In São Sebastião, the low unit value of manioc—Cr.$80 per ton—indicated possible error. The reasonable intensity of production suggested that the total value data were in error. The mean unit value of the four surrounding municípios—Cr.$240 per ton--was accepted for São Sebastião and was used to calculate a revised total value of Cr.$168,000.

Minor errors were apparent in the data for certain other municípios. For example, the yields of Maragogipe, Cachoeira, and Salvador were extremely low. Adjustments could have been made, but the relatively small manioc area and production in these municípios indicated that the resulting alterations would not markedly change the general area or production pattern. Maps 130, 131, 132, 133, and 134 show the patterns of manioc cultivation, production, and yield as taken from unmodified official data in Produção Agrícola: 1948. The corresponding maps based upon modified data (Maps 22, 23, 24, 25, and 27) are presented in Chapter V.

243 Corn. Calculations from the original data gave Maragogipe a
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127 yield of .40 tons of corn per hectare, less than one-half the yield
128 of neighboring municípios. This was excessively low, and it seemed preferable to use the figure of 1.24 tons per hectare, the mean of adjacent São Filipe and Cachoeira. These municípios, though not similar to the whole of Maragogipe, resemble very much the adjoining areas where cultivation is concentrated. The production figure for Maragogipe was accepted as reasonable, since when combined with value it produced a credible unit value. Thus the area was reduced from 15 hectares to 5 hectares, raising the yield to a more acceptable level. However, these changes do not modify the gross pattern extensively and therefore the maps in Chapter V were based upon the original data.

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127 Area data for corn should be used with reservation, especially
243 for the northern and western municípios. In the drier areas it is the
244 custom to plant corn and beans together in the same field, generally
127 in the same row, and the area could have been counted, in its entirety, twice (once for each crop). Yield calculations for corn and beans suggest that this has not been done; however, the vagaries of climate and cultivation in these dry zones produce such variations in mean yield from year to year and place to place that it was impossible to secure a clearcut verification. Conversations with personnel of the compiling agency failed to clarify the situation.

245 Bananas. The maps of banana area, based upon the official data,
433 reveal a definite gap in Cruz das Almas and northern São Filipe (Map 135).
127 However, this area lies in the middle of a belt of relatively dense production. Field experience in this immediate area indicated that bananas were at least as important in these two areas as in adjacent Conceição do Almeida. The official data show only 7 hectares and 3,000 bunches of bananas in Santo Antônio, but the large numbers of banana plants which were observed would tend to discredit these figures. Since in the Recôncavo the area planted in bananas does not usually have a consistent relationship to the number of plants and thus to production, yields are not a trustworthy guide to the estimation of
245 production. On the map of banana production in the text (Map 52) the
433 official data have been modified to allow Cruz das Almas 190,000
127 bunches in place of the 29,000 in the official data; São Filipe,
128 70,000 in place of the official 20,000; and Santo Antônio, 86,000 in place of the official 3,000. These changes were made by artitrarily increasing the production data to give these areas the same density of production as similar areas in adjacent municípios. Since, as has

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245 433 127 128 been indicated, banana area and production do not have a consistent relationship, no attempt has been made to alter the map of cultivated area for bananas.

249 433 127 Tobacco. Although there is a large range in tobacco yields within the Recôncavo as calculated from the official data, only those for São Filipe seem completely unacceptable. If the area of this município were at the high level—3,600 hectares--indicated and the given production data are correct, then its yield was an infinitesimal 190 kilograms per hectare. The official production data are, in approximate terms, confirmed by other sources.[1] However, the area indicated by the official data is much higher than either the data of Marques or field experience would indicate. Estimates from the mean of surrounding municípios, from the mean yield calculated from Marques, and from the area given by Marques adjusted to the 1948 level of production, give the following figures, respectively: 675 hectares, 692 hectares, and 700 hectares. The median of these figures—692 hectares--was selected and used in preparing Maps 28, 29, and 33 in Chapter V.

[113] [1]Antonio Nonanto Marques, op. cit., pp. 1-85; and Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, Contribuição do Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, pp. 1-16.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

APPENDIX F

Comparison of 1940 and 1948 Data for Cultivated Areas

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The figure for cropland in 1948, derived from the total area in principal crops, is less than half the total cultivated area which is given in the 1940 Censos Econômicos, as shown on the table which follows (Table XIX). The development of the individual crops, indicated by the statistical material available and by the situation which is to be observed in the area, indicates quite clearly that the catastrophic decline which these figures would seem to indicate has not in fact taken place. The growth of the population of the Recôncavo, without concurrent industrialization or radical reorganization of the agricultural system, has required the expansion, not the contraction, of the cultivated area. It is clear that the 1940 census data must have included much land that was not in crops--probably it included those areas which customarily were cultivated under the land rotation system but which were not, in 1940, in crops. Since the census was based upon the opinion of the agriculturalist as to the cultivated area and since it is the custom to regard fields recently abandoned as cultivated land, it is easy to see how the 1940 figure was so large. It is assumed, therefore, that the 165,235 hectares which the census called cultivated area in 1940 corresponds to the general area in which cultivation was customary and not to actual cropland.

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TABLE XIX

COMPARISON OF LAND CULTIVATED AS GIVEN IN THE 1940 CENSUS AND AS CALCULATED FROM 1948 CROPLAND DATA

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	Land Cultivated 1940	Land Cultivated 1948	Change
Central Recôncavo:			
Santo Amaro	19,252	8,417	-10,835
São Francisco	3,227	1,063	- 2,164
São Sebastião	4,798	2,516	- 2,282
Cachoeira	4,326	1,154	- 3,172
Northern Recôncavo:			
Coração de Maria	4,653	1,092	- 3,561
Irará	27,630	9,115	-18,515
Alagoinhas	3,868	2,464	- 1,404
Northwestern Recôncavo:			
Feira de Santana	20,457	3,994	-16,463
São Gonçalo	4,270	3,614	- 656
Conceição da Feira	2,363	1,343	- 1,020
Santo Estêvão	10,145	8,500	- 1,645
Southwestern Recôncavo:			
Muritiba	7,654	3,333	- 4,321
Cruz das Almas	8,585	12,796	+ 4,211
Conceição do Almeida	11,419	7,506	- 3,913
São Filipe	5,942	6,430	+ 488
São Félix	3,482	1,512	- 1,970
Eastern Recôncavo:			
Catu	5,484	741	- 4,743
Pojuca	1,037	259	- 778
Southern Recôncavo:			
Maragogipe	7,221	1,342	- 5,879
Itaparica	4,492	891	- 3,601
Salvador	4,930	1,921	- 3,009
Recôncavo Total	165,235	80,003	-85,232

Source: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II, and Produção Agrícola: 1948.

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APPENDIX G

Procedure Used in Estimating Value of Animals Produced in the Recôncavo in 1948

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The 1948 data on livestock[1] gave the total number of animals for each município but did not show the number slaughtered nor the value of animal production. An estimate of the latter figure was made for 1948 in order to compare the value of crop and livestock production for that year. The method of estimation was as follows.

It was assumed that the change in the cattle population between these years was the best available index of the change in the value of animal production, since cattle are the most common and most valuable major animal. The index of change thus derived was used to raise or lower the 1940 value of animal production of each município, as given in the Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II, to a 1948 level, but still in terms of 1940 currency. This latter figure was increased by 350 per cent to conform to the declining value of the cruzeiro. For example:

Alagoinhas: $\frac{\text{1948 cattle}}{\text{1940 cattle}} = \frac{26,060}{13,090} = 2$ (approx.)

1940 value of production = Cr.$825,000

Cr.$ 825,000 x 2 = Cr.$1,650,000

Cr.$1,650,000 x 3.5 = Cr.$5,775.000.

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[1] Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, "Pobulação Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948."

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Acknowledgments

THE FIELD WORK upon which this study is based was carried out as part of the State of Bahia-Columbia University Community Study Project, from July, 1950, to June, 1951. The Secretaria de Educação of the State of Bahia, Brazil, the Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Ciencia na Bahia, and Columbia University are the organizations chiefly responsible for sponsoring and financing the project. My participation in the project was made possible through a grant from the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation and through additional financial aid from the Department of Anthropology, Columbia University. To the men and women of these organizations I owe a deep debt of gratitude.

I am especially indebted to Dr. Charles Wagley, director of the project, for his foresight, guidance, and encouragement before, during, and after the field work, and for his patience as well as invaluable advice during the preparation of the manuscript.

To Dr. Anisio S. Teixeira, former secretary of education of the state of Bahia, whose belief in the social sciences made the study possible, I am deeply grateful for the exceptionally high degree of cooperation and intellectual stimulus which was the keynote of my visit to Bahia. I also wish to thank Dr. Thales Azevedo of the University of Bahia for his enduring friendship and scientific counsel as well as for his suggestions during the writing of the manuscript.

The research in Vila Recôncavo was carried out in coordination with three other community studies in other regions of the state of Bahia. I am much indebted for the cooperation of Dr.

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Marvin Harris, Benjamin Zimmerman, and Anthony Leeds, who conducted these related studies.

To the many members of the Tourinho, Junqueira Ayres, Ariani Machado, and Albuquerque Porciuncula families of Bahia, who opened their doors to me, extending traditional Bahian hospitality throughout my stay both in Salvador and in the field, I am very grateful. Their full cooperation, understanding, and good will have contributed immeasurably to this study.

To those who made it possible for me to extend the scope of the field work to other areas of the Recôncavo, the directors of Magalhães and company, the director of Usina Terra Nova, Dr. Themístocles Monteiro, the director of Usina Aliança, Dr. Helenauro Sampaio, the chemical engineer of Usina São Carlos, Dr. Augusto Vilas Boas, and Eugenio Santos, who gave inestimable aid, my sincerest thanks.

To Frei Miguel Marcinkowski, Frei Pacifico Weismann, Dona Maria Pinto, Eliza Amelia Ferreira, and all my friends of Vila Recôncavo* where the study was made is due my profound gratitude. Last and most profoundly, I am indebted to my wife, Carmelita Junqueira Ayres Hutchinson, for her invaluable assistance in the field and constant encouragement during the preparation of the manuscript.

H. W. Hutchinson

Faculdade de Filosofia
Universidade da Bahia
September, 1956

*Although Vila Recôncavo is a real town, the names of all persons and places have been changed for the purposes of this study.

505 [291] The others, barefoot, wearing shorts and large-brimmed straw hats, are the permanent dwellers of the islands: fishermen, stevedores, and storekeepers.

505 133 [501] [226] When the islands are left behind, the scene begins to change. The color of the water changes from a clear, deep blue to a muddy gray. Groups of canoes are seen, their occupants busy with their fish nets, for this shallow part of the bay is a good fishing ground. Once again the mainland is close, rolling hills covered with a thousand shades of green--sugar cane, the crop which nearly four hundred years ago replaced the virgin forests. The deltalike shores of this part of the bay are covered with mangue, muddy areas with low-growing trees which [361] at high tide are standing in the water. On a hill at the water's [162] edge is the town of Vila Recôncavo, a town of 1,462 persons. The first thing one sees is the huge Franciscan convent[5] with [368] its two tall towers and its royal palms. Approaching the long dock which juts out into the water, one can see almost the [504] whole town, which is built on three hills and in the valleys between them.

[361] The arrival of the boat from Salvador every other day is an event in an otherwise dull day. Nearly all the men of the town go down to the dock to meet the boat, to see who is traveling, 505 512 to see what is arriving for someone in the town, to receive messages or parcels, to greet friends, and to gossip. The postmistress is there, and with her the man whose duty it is to carry the mail sack, but who has a helper to do it for him. After a few minutes the boat continues its journey, and the townsfolk walk back along the dock, breaking up into small groups on reaching the main square and then each going his own way.

361 344 On the square at the end of the dock, at the foot of the main street which leads up the middle hill and out into the

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[128] 5. It should be explained that "convent" in this case is a direct translation from Portuguese. In Portuguese, convent does not have the connotation of being a religious establishment only for women. The word convento is applied to the Franciscans' establishment because the Franciscans are not monks; if they were, their establishment would be called a mosteiro (monastery). In English, Franciscans are known as "friars," and their houses are called "friaries." However, throughout this monograph the direct translation, convent, is used.

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VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

The following discussion will examine one of the five private plantations in the community of Vila Recôncavo and will then describe the network of factory plantations in the same community.

The Private Plantation: Fazenda das Moças

The Fazenda das Moças ("G" on map of community) is typical of a privately owned plantation in all respects but one. Its owner is a lady who assumed active direction of the plantation after her husband's death. At first there was some difficulty in persuading the overseer of the plantation to take orders from a woman, for he felt his prestige was lowered in the eyes of the workmen as well as the overseers of neighboring plantations. However, after three or four years, Dona Sinhá, in cooperation with "Seu"[1] Paulo, the overseer, has made an outstanding success of her plantation, and the original friction between the two has greatly diminished. Below is an inventory of the Fazenda das Moças:

Extent: 930 tarefas,[2] mostly of massapê, 450 of which are under sugar-cane cultivation, the rest consisting of pasture and small gardens

Water: 4 drinking tanks for livestock
2 small freshwater streams
(Drinking water must be brought from a neighboring plantation, which has a spring well known in the area for the salubrious qualities of its water.)

Houses: 45 workers' houses
Owner's house, with living room, dining room, 4 bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom, 2 maids' rooms, 2 other dependencies, veranda; surrounded by orchard
1 overseer's house
1 house formerly used as a school

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1. "Seu" is a corruption of Senhor and is a title often given to persons of some prestige.

2. The tarefa is the unit of land measurement used in Bahia. It equals 900 square braças. The braça equals 6 feet, which gives the tarefa 32,400 square feet. This is 1,160 square feet less than one acre.

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VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

*249 829 178 [434] The entire harvest is done with great sacrifice, my head wearied by accounts; 6,000 tons of cane, over Cr$600.000,00--a lot of money, enough for all the expenses, and still some left over. What a mistake! The general costs, the extraordinary costs, house repairs, etc., will take it all. So we start again--new plantings, larger fields, all for more money. But we lack the courage to stop planting sugar cane and plant corn or coffee, anything else. We were born hearing of senhores de engenho, of trays and trays of silver service, of Negro slaves, of everything which has disappeared into the past. But it still burns in our blood, and deep down we want to have lands, to order and be obeyed. We like the humble and servile vassalage of the Negro, which makes us feel important, the dispensers of favors.

*249 829

I think of this as old Saturno goes along, step by step. There is Paulos Santos coming along the road, with his little burro and two baskets, going to get manioc for the ever-present farinha. "Good morning, Patron!" What affection I feel for each one of them! Pedro Manuel with so many little children; Zé Julião with his sick wife, Conceição with his air of secular servility. But affection resolves nothing! Money and action do! I could knock down those miserable hovels and make good hygienic houses.

Once home I fall into the hammock, reading Proust and forgetting everything.

*249 473

The Usina: Usina São Pedro

The Sociedad Anonima, the corporation which operates this factory, represents the new pattern in the Recôncavo. There are now nine factories functioning in the Recôncavo, for the trend has been to close the small ones which could not function economically. Five of the nine belong to one corporation, which holds extensive lands and receives the cane of many suppliers. We will describe the smallest of the four independent factories, which has a rated capacity of seventy-two thousand sacks of sugar as compared with the two hundred thousand of one of the larger mills (a sack equaling 60 kilograms). The legal capacity of the Usina São Pedro--which it has never reached--is fifty-two thousand sacks, as determined by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. At the present time, however,

*249 433 • [128] [656]

VILA RECÔNCAVO

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three are rural samples from the factory and plantation nuclei. The total sample is divided by classes as follows:

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Urban	Class	Rural
	A	2
11	B	7
41	C	54 (field workers 25; factory workers 29)
10	D	

Class C in the rural zone is divided into two groups, field workers and factory workers, to point out the slight differences between the two groups.

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TABLE 3
MONTHLY INCOME

Urban Average Monthly Income of Head of Family (Cr$)	Class		Rural Average Monthly Income of Head of Family (Cr$)
	A		15.500,00
1.822,72	B		2.040,00
805,85	C	field workers	450,44
		factory workers	847,00
483,74	D		

The economic gap between Class A of the rural area and classes B, C, and D of both the rural and urban areas is quickly apparent. In United States currency the income is roughly $750 per month for Class A, $100 per month for Class B, and only $20 per month for Class D. The figures for Class B, both urban and rural, show how closely the segments of the class correspond in income. However, urban Class C and rural Class C differ in that the urban group's cash income is higher, although it does not approach that of Class B. Although the field workers' income appears to be close to that of urban Class D, the produce from the garden plots to which all field workers are entitled is not included in this figure. Class D, whose income is the lowest, must live on its wages, since members of this class do not have garden plots.

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9. Recent Changes in Vila Recôncavo

THE FIELD WORK described in Chapters 1 through 8 of this study was carried out from June, 1950, to June, 1951. In 1955 and 1956 the author had the opportunity to do further work in Vila Recôncavo. This chapter is a summary of some of the changes which have occurred during the five-year period from 1951 to 1956.

First, the sugar industry has undergone several changes, developing still further from the plantation (engenho) toward the highly industrialized factory (usina) as postulated in the introduction. The factory-plantation system, as distinct from the private plantations, has experienced the most change.

Usina São Pedro was described earlier as a family corporation, owned and directed by members of one extended family. At one time in the past five years, this family was obliged to take into the corporation a large amount of capital representing a second family enterprise, considerably larger in scope than that of the first. Within a short period the second family achieved complete control of the factory through a series of financial manipulations. As a result, Usina São Pedro passed from the Conde family's ownership and direction, and is now just one element of a large commercial firm.

For a more complete understanding of Bahian society it is necessary that we examine this second family corporation. The key word is "family," which represents almost a constant in this culture. The second family, the Helvetians, is a second generation immigrant family. The major activities of the family corporation--there are other stockholders, especially employees, with small holdings--have always been commercial: exporting, importing, distributing, and transporting. The cor-

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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tional policy chose to assimilate the Negro rather than to segregate him; thus, with a significantly large Negro population, Brazil has no real race problem. Moreover, any Negro in Brazil who is qualified is given a status to which his abilities entitle him.

We are fortunate to have the original author, Dr. Donald Pierson, write the new introduction to the present work. Dr. Pierson, a man widely published in sociology, is a distinguished scholar, who has spent many years studying the Brazilian racial situation. In his new introduction, Donald Pierson has carefully reanalyzed his original work in terms of events which have transpired. In so doing he has integrated the significant scholarly publications which have emerged over the years. Although significant social changes have transpired in Brazil since the original publication of this work, the original formulations regarding race relations still remain valid, a testimony to the original perceptions of the author. The result is one of the most up-to-date analyses of race relations in Brazil today.

The author's original preface and the original introduction by Robert E. Park have been retained. Each gives a sense of historical continuity to the effort; and each contains comments for the present. Indeed, as suggested by Park, the task of maintaining an effective social order in the context of drastic social change constitutes one of man's greatest challenges; this observation is surely of contemporary relevance.

Herman R. Lantz

Southern Illinois University
January, 1966

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SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

PREFACE TO THIS EDITION

FOLLOWING several impressions, this book has been out-of-print for some time; and, accordingly, I am grateful to Professor Herman R. Lantz and to Southern Illinois University Press for making it available again.

In preparation for the new Introduction a limited and preliminary survey was made of the criteria of rank in Brazil, with particular attention to the role of color. For assistance in this effort I am indebted to Professor Thales de Azevedo of Bahia, Professors Levy Cruz and Cecilia Sanioto DiLascio of Recife, Professors Santos Neves and Renato José Costa Pacheco of Vitória, and Professor Hiroshi Saito of São Paulo.

As the manuscript for the original book was being completed, in 1939, I was invited to São Paulo to help build up a pioneer school in Brazil in the social sciences; and I remained in that country for nearly two decades. At the time of this return, however, and for many years thereafter, there was little interest, in educational circles or elsewhere, in the study of the local racial situation. My time became so absorbed by an extensive round of other activities that for many years it was possible to give only limited attention to this problem.

By 1951, however, interest had built up in certain intellectual circles to the point where the UNESCO studies in several parts of the country were possible; but I was at that time also engaged, along with a considerable number of students and young professors whom I had helped train, in a series of studies in the São Francisco valley, so that it was not possible to accept the invitation to join the UNESCO

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research. With its appearance, and with that of other studies carried out since that time—but also including a few which had appeared previously, in addition to the pioneer work of Professor Gilberto Freyre and of others which antedated this book—a considerable body of materials on the Brazilian racial situation is now available, especially in Portuguese. In an attempt to extend and to bring more up-to-date my knowledge and understanding of this situation, I have consulted a rather extensive bibliography, in so far as it was possible to gain access to it by diligent effort in both Brazil and the United States. For patient and considerate assistance with this task, I am under especial obligation to Dr. Zacharias Pithon Barreto and Thales de Azevedo of Bahia, Nell W. Herbert of the reference department of Pack Memorial Library in Asheville, Professor Edgar T. Thompson of Duke University, Professor Mario Wagner Vieira da Cunha, Maria Isabel dos Santos Carvalho, and Maria Aparecida Madeira Kerbeg of São Paulo, and, most especially of all, Professor Emilio Willems of Vanderbilt University. For suggestions regarding bibliography and other encouragement, I am grateful to Professors Richard M. Morse of Yale University, Charles Wagley of Columbia University, and T. Lynn Smith of the University of Florida.

Some of the materials from a paper prepared for the World Conference on Race Relations, held in Honolulu in 1954, and which appeared in *Race Relations in World Perspective*, edited by Andrew W. Lind and published the next year by the University of Hawaii Press, appear in altered form in this new Introduction. That book is now out-of-print; and I am grateful to Professor Lind, and to Thomas Nickerson, director of the University of Hawaii Press, for permission to use these materials here.

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Thales de Azevedo, anthropologist and director of the *Faculdade de Filosofia* of the University of Bahia, a lifetime resident of that city and a researcher whose studies of the local racial situation have received considerable attention, has honored me by reading the new Introduction in manuscript; as also have Emilio Willems, whose researches and publications during a long residence in Brazil are well known, and Professor Herbert Blumer of the University of California, who has carried on research in Brazil in a related field. Obviously, however, no one except the present author is responsible for any imprecision or inadequacy which the reader may note; nor are these specialists necessarily in agreement with the author on all points. For painstaking attention to numerous tasks in connection with the preparation of the new Introduction, and especially to the typing of extensive notes and to manuscript detail, I am much indebted to my wife, Helen Batchelor Pierson.

JULY, 1965 DONALD PIERSON

[P. X is blank]

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000 Gleig, M. G. and Kate White, Peter and Irene Baker, Ralph and Catherine Varhaug, and "Slim" Jordan; and to a host of others, including Maria Bádá, Maria do Carmo, Pae Procopio, Pae Bernardinho, Pae Joazinho, Pae Manoel Paim, Mãe Minininha, Mãe Sabina, Dona Germania, Felisbertus, Hypolito, Bimba, Rodolfo, Marciano, Nestor, Edgar, Satyro, Estanislau, Antonio, Bábê, Angelo, Joanna, Dédé, Adalberto, and Eulalia.

• 128 For the clarification of several obscure points raised in reading, observation, or investigation I am grateful to such able interpreters of the Brazilian scene as Gilberto Freyre, Affonso de E. Taunay, Oliveira Vianna, Pedro Calmon, Rüdiger Bilden, and Lois Williams. Dr. Arthur Ramos, who is intimately acquainted with the Bahian Negro, and Dr. Hugh C. Tucker, who during fifty-four years' residence in Brazil has become acquainted with the country as have few North Americans, read the manuscript and offered pertinent comment. Drs. Robert Redfield, Herbert Blumer, Louis Wirth, Ellsworth Faris, and William F. Ogburn have from the inception of the study extended me many courtesies, the most important of which have been their unsparingly critical but always constructive suggestions. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Charles Johnson and Fisk University for the leisure to prepare the manuscript for publication and to Mrs. Martha Harris for patient and careful attention to manuscript detail. I am under perhaps the greatest obligation to Dr. Robert E. Park, whose seminal mind, long-range patience as a teacher, and rich research experience have contributed in fundamental ways to this study. My wife, Helen Batchelor Pierson, has been an invaluable assistant.

DONALD PIERSON

ESCOLA LIVRE DE SOCIOLOGIA E POLITICA
DE SÃO PAULO
October 1939

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INTRODUCTION TO THIS EDITION

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IN CONSIDERATION of the general lack of knowledge in the United States at the time regarding anything south of the Rio Grande, the original publisher used "Brazil" in the title of this book, although the author never claimed so wide a coverage for it. A more precise indication appeared in the subtitle which the original publisher considerately permitted—and which again appears in this edition—"A Study of Race Contact at Bahia." In other words, this is a case study, in a given place, of a more general situation.

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To one who picks up this study, undertaken as it was in 1935, or thirty years ago, several questions will perhaps occur: How precise was the identification of the Bahian racial situation at the time? Has this situation changed since? How representative of the situation throughout Brazil was, and is, that of Bahia? Do we know any more today than we did then regarding the circumstances which produced it?

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Each of these questions is all the more pertinent because some persons have been puzzled by conflicting reports, in more recent years, regarding the precise character of the Brazilian racial situation. The confusion is due, in our judgment, to the heterogeneity of a vast land; to the rather subtle character of the Brazilian racial situation; to the role of semantics in the process of communication; to the limited amount of empirical research which has been carried out with reference to this problem; and to variations in the objectives, approaches and methods of writers in the field, some of whom, by emphasizing, unduly, certain aspects of

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ticularly São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro but also Belo Horizonte, Recife, Porto Alegre, and others, including Bahia.[3] For, stimulated by needs which could not be satisfied by importation from Europe or the United States under the conditions existing during two World Wars—and more particularly during the last one—and also by growing internal demand, industrialization has been assuming a continually larger role in what has previously been a predominantly agricultural and pastoral country. Concomitant with this increased industrialization—but not to be confused with it, since, for one thing, it began long before—there also has occurred a rapid and extensive growth of the cities. A high rate of natural increase of the population has meanwhile continued in all parts of the country, so that it is now estimated that approximately two and a half million persons are being added annually to the Brazilian people. New primary, secondary, technological and professional schools have been set up, in an urgent, but not yet adequate attempt—since it began with a huge deficit—to keep up with expanding educational needs.

The emergence of new employment opportunities, espe-

[3] Since the matter may have puzzled some readers, it perhaps should be pointed out that, in keeping with the traditional patterns in such cases during colonization and later, the term "Bahia" was long used to indicate, on the one hand, the Capitania, Province or State of Bahia and, on the other, its capital city, even though the latter had another (and less used) name—Salvador. At the time of our research, the capital city of the State of Bahia—where most of our research was carried on—was widely and commonly known also as "Bahia"; and this name is still being employed. Since this name was used in the original study, it will be retained in this Introduction, in order to avoid possible confusion when consulting different parts of this edition. Incidentally, the spelling of "Bahia" is correctly given here and throughout this book, although, for a time during the "spelling reform" in Brazil (but only temporarily), an effort was made in some quarters to write the name differently.

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Octavio da Costa Eduardo in Maranhão; Seth Leacock at Belém; Duglas Teixeira Monteiro at Vitória; Nelson de Senna in Minas Gerais; Candido Procópio Ferreira de Camargo in São Paulo; and several authors with a more general reference, including, especially, Arthur Ramos (1938b, 1942, 1943, 1949). Frazier (1942) studied the structure and function of the family among colored persons at Bahia.

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If this were a revised edition, certain alterations or additions would be made; for instance, it probably would be advantageous either to bring over into English or to identify more extensively several terms which were left in Portuguese, either because translation would have distorted meaning or because the author was in doubt regarding an *adequate* rendering in English and unable to resolve the problem by a return to the field or through correspondence, yet desirous to be as precise as possible. An effort was made to define each term when first introduced; but this is perhaps inadequate, especially where the term appears again, later, several pages away. To obviate this difficulty somewhat, a glossary is appended to the present edition.[30]

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Today, we probably would use a substitute for "branco da Bahia" (p. 139 and *passim*), since this term is ordinarily used only outside Bahia, and—more especially—since we subsequently have learned that it sometimes carries a certain depreciatory connotation.[31] Besides, it is subject to some ambiguity, as José Valadares (1943), in a perhaps humorous

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[104]

[30] A few words which were spelled according to the custom prevailing at the time, previous to the "spelling reform" some years later, should be altered; for example, cathedrático (p. 189), is now spelled "catedrático," and paranympho (p. 190), "paraninfo."

[31] Ribeiro (1956:128) reports this term used at Recife when scoffing at persons "the legitimacy of whose pretentions to being white is subject to question."

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vein, has pointed out. It was used in our original study to refer to very light mixed-bloods whose racial origin was evident to an anthropologist but not so evident to others, in an effort to make more understandable to a United States audience the actual situation at Bahia.

Perhaps it would be helpful to clarify certain matters mentioned in this book which have led serious critics to erroneous conclusions. Citing a Portuguese version of Chapter VII, Bastide (1943a:31) quotes us as saying that "in Bahia race prejudice is linked inexplicably (sic) to that of class." This statement we are unable to find in the translation of that chapter or in any other of our publications; nor do we subscribe to it.[32] The need to define terms is imperative. In their criticism of hypothesis 22 (see p. 349), Bastide and Fernandes (1951)[33] do not refer to *race* prejudice at all but instead—and repeatedly—to *color* prejudice. Obviously, they have misunderstood our intention. In an article published in the United States, Bastide and Pierre van den Berghe (1957:693) claim to have invalidated this hypothesis, "so far as São Paulo is concerned." They also write, however, that "we have not been able to isolate the effects of class and racial prejudice." It is therefore difficult to understand the subsequent statement to the effect that "we can definitely assert that, after *having eliminated*[34] the effects of class prejudice against colored people, there would remain an important residue of properly racial prejudice."

The principal difference of opinion, however, would seem to be due to a variation in the use of terms. It is the implica-

[32] A similarly erroneous (if more acceptable) ascription to our authorship is made by Staley (18).

[33] Republished, 1959:333.

[34] Italics ours.

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tion of our research, confirmed, and much more clearly stated, by Wagley and his associates—particularly by Harris—that one of the criteria of class is color. In so far as this is true, class discrimination and color discrimination (but *not* race prejudice as defined above) are inevitably linked. Bastide and Van den Berghe contend that they are dealing with "race prejudice" when we believe they mean "discrimination on the basis of color."[35] That such exists by reason of color being one of the criteria of rank is admitted, in the same sense in which discrimination exists in the case of low family origin, or of low economic condition, or of low educational level, or of lack of personal competence.

Bastide and Van den Berghe also claim to have invalidated, as far as São Paulo is concerned, another hypothesis of this study which they identify as follows: "Prejudice against Negroes is directly proportional to socio-economic status." It is not clear to what these authors refer. We do not recognize this hypothesis as being among those formulated by us, either in this book or elsewhere; nor do we subscribe to it, as stated.

The hypotheses which emerged out of our original study[36] may require, however, certain qualifications and additions, in order to make the description and analysis more precise and complete.

With reference to hypotheses 1 and 2, Willems has called our attention to the possibility that the mortality rate among the lower (and extensively colored) ranks of the Brazilian population may be proportionately lower now than in the

[35] Plus a few limited and atypical cases, as we have suggested above, of discrimination on the basis of race, neither derived from, however, nor supported by, the local mores.

[36] See pages 345–50 of this book.

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[SALVADOR]

/7 cont./

124 We also called on a limited number of white informants who had the reputation of being familiar with the problems of Bahia in
114 the past and the present. Born and raised in this city, where I have never ceased to dwell, I was also able to use my own experience.
127 In addition, we made use of announcements and editorial commentaries appearing in the periodicals and daily papers of Bahia and reflecting, up to a certain point, the stereotypes of the milieu studied.

121 A simple description of the racial situation in Bahia would not be adequate to make one understand the dynamism of this rising of the Blacks on the social scale. It has also been treated as a process of cultural and social change and therefore examined from a historical perspective; people have refrained, however, from going into details.

114 Our investigation, in one sense, was made difficult by the
127 scarcity of anthropological and sociological works on the society of Bahia. This city has been the subject of several historical studies in the course of recent years. One finds numerous references to the slave trade, to anthropometry, to phenomena of acculturation, and to African survivals, but, as Donald Pierson very rightly says in the work that we shall cite so often, there is only a meager literature on the conflicts or on the processes of adjustment that characterize race relations in Bahia. The book by Donald Pierson (1)

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1. Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil. A study of race contact at Bahia. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1947.

is really the first and up to now the only one in which race relations in Bahia have been analyzed and presented according to the methods of modern sociology.

128 I do not pretend to have done exhaustive or definitive work on /8/ the very complex problem of the social mobility of colored people in Bahia. I wanted above all to be objective and to present the problems from a scientific point of view, by avoiding insofar as possible the snares of ethnocentrism so difficult to elude, even unconsciously, when one is a member of the culture that one is describing.

[SALVADOR]

/10 cont./

*563 826 In order to understand the composition of the local population and to interpret correctly the demographic statistics of Bahia, ancient and modern, it is necessary to be well acquainted with the meaning of the terms that serve to designate the different physical types brought together in its vast melting pot. The most common expressions are branco, preto, mulato, pardo, moreno, and caboclo, which one may translate as: White, Black, mulatto (1).

[192]

[192] •[128]

1. There are no common French terms to designate the terms pardo, moreno, caboclo, the explanation of which is given farther on. We shall therefore leave them in their Brazilian form in these pages.

[829] These terms seemingly designate definite physical types; in reality, their meaning is inspired much more by the social context than by racial characteristics such as the color of the skin, the hair, and the shape of the face.

*563 827 828 565 In a general way Whites are individuals of white phenotype; very tall persons with light eyes and with hair likewise light and fine are often called brancos finos (fine Whites) because they do show any signs of mixture with colored types. Nevertheless individuals who are wealthy and of high rank, whatever their appearance, may very well be called Whites. When one hears a person of humble station, a servant or agricultural worker, call a superior "my White," one is sometimes surprised to discover that the person to whom the title is addressed has a very dark complexion. The stevedores and porters, who are almost all black, indiscriminately call Whites and mulattoes of prosperous appearance "my White." The common people never cease saying that "the one who has money is White."

A colored sociologist says that "a Brazilian Black can become white to the extent that he rises economically and acquires the attitude of the upper groups." Assignment to an upper social class in Brazil is based more on the culture or the economic position of an individual than on his racial characteristics. The